

By  
David Graham Phillips

# Mark Hanna: President Maker

In Collier's

It was not until Mark-Marcus Hanna was 38 years old, well on the way toward 50, that he became widely known. In fact, until the summer of 1886 he was not well known even in his native Ohio. But since then he has been continuously on the national stage, always a conspicuous member of the conspicuous group.

The story of his sudden blazing forth is the inside story of two of the remarkable achievements of our political history.

As the Presidential year 1896 opened, the outlook for the Republican party was dark indeed. The "money question" with which both parties had been flitting for years had at last for the first time become a serious question. A very large part of the main body of the Republican voters—the farmers—had sided with the People's party, and a large part of those who remained were clearly preparing to follow their departed brethren. The Eastern wing of the Republican party was clamoring for gold, was denouncing the free silver seceders as lunatics; the Western wing was denouncing the gold standard, was clamoring for the free coinage which their leaders had been tentatively promising. The Democratic party, on the other hand, had been captured by its anti-gold standard section and was making what promised to be an overwhelmingly successful alliance with the People's party. The Eastern Republicans refused to believe that the danger of a disturbance of the money standard was real, laughed at the warnings of the Western Republican leaders, and were insisting upon and were preparing to get an Eastern gold standard man nominated by the party for President. All who know American politics know how fatal to the Republican party in that campaign would have been the success of the Eastern leaders, blind as they were to what was going on outside their own section.

But they did not get their demands, and the reason they did not was Mark Hanna.

Born in a small Ohio town—New Lisbon—on September 24, 1837, educated in the public schools there, and at the

Western Reserve college, he had gone into his father's prosperous wholesale grocery business and, after thirty years of shrewd hard work, had become eight or ten times a millionaire. Like most men in that Western country—and most women, and most children—he had a passion and a natural gift for politics. As his business had a political edge, forcing him into touch with political machines, local, State and national, he had every opportunity to gratify his passion and to develop his gift. He and William McKinley had been friends and admirers each of the other's character and ability since young manhood. Mr. McKinley wished to be President, and felt that the time for him to accomplish the ambition he had arrived at was now. Hanna felt that the crisis in the party's and the Nation's politics called for his friend and idol, and he dropped his business and brought all the power of his mind, trained to both business and politics, to the task of creating and launching and successfully piloting the McKinley boom.

This is neither the time nor the place for describing that boom—the intricate machinery, its ingenious engineering, its amazing adaptation to the work of creating a "spontaneous demand" for McKinley. It is sufficient to say that even the Eastern Republican leaders whose ambitions it wrecked were forced to admire, were forced to hail Mark Hanna as the master machine politician of his time. When the Republican convention met in June, 1896, Mr. McKinley was triumphantly nominated on the first ballot, and the Eastern Republicans and "sound-money" men were driven to choose between Mr. McKinley, whose fidelity to the gold standard they suspected, and the Democratic-Populist Mr. Bryan, who was the avowed advocate of free coinage at 16 to 1. And Mr. Hanna's candidate called loudly for a restoration of high tariffs as the cure-all for the farmer's woes, and so stayed the rush of Republican farmers to Bryan, where a denunciation of "silver" would at that time have driven them away in droves.

No doubt it was merely an accident that Mr. Hanna happened to be the devoted admirer of the ideal candidate, from the Republican and anti-free silver standpoint. No doubt, had he happened to be the personal friend and political advocate of a less admirably

adapted man for the crisis, he would have worked just as hard and just as successfully for him, and so would have helped Mr. Bryan to victory. But the facts remain that Mr. Hanna's mind was the right man for the Republican crisis, and that Mr. Hanna so engineered politics that his man got the nomination.

But greater than this preliminary achievement was the election of Mr. McKinley—and for that event Mr. Hanna has never received his full measure of credit, except from the "insiders." There never was a better managed political campaign in this country, from the practical politician's standpoint, than that which Mr. Hanna conducted the summer and fall of 1896. There is a widespread impression that Mr. Bryan was easily and overwhelmingly beaten. The reverse is the truth. He was beaten with the utmost difficulty, was beaten by a very small margin. Mr. McKinley had a large popular majority, but that is unimportant. His electoral majority was also large—55 electoral votes. But an analysis of the returns by States shows how dangerously near to election Mr. Bryan came. West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, North Dakota, California, and Oregon are six States which from the outset of that campaign were claimed for Mr. Bryan, and with good reason. A change of less than 21,000 votes altogether, in those six States, would have turned 48 electoral votes from Mr. McKinley to Mr. Bryan, and would have elected Mr. Bryan.

Those figures are important to any proper study of Mr. Hanna's career, because they give a tangible measure of the enormous task which he so successfully performed. While Mr. Bryan was sweeping the usually Republican rural districts, Mr. Hanna was snatching from the Democratic-Populist combine the usually Democratic cities and towns.

His methods? Mr. Hanna was a machine politician, an unusually business-like machine politician. He believed in educating voters capable of receiving education. But he was not the man to let his party lose because the other fellow had "influenced" the "floating vote" which holds the balance of power in any close and doubtful State. His nature was blunt and frank, and nat-

urally his methods were the same. Thus he emerged from obscurity and took the middle of the stage amid the shouts of execration and abhorrence of his opponents, and much winning and shuddering among his fellow-partisans. The man who in 1896—or in 1897, or even as late as 1899—would have predicted that Mark Hanna would ever be seriously suggested as a Presidential candidate, would have been regarded as a lunatic.

Yet when Mr. Hanna was seized by his last illness he was not merely a Presidential possibility; he was in a fair way to contest the Republican nomination with Mr. Roosevelt, and if he had by chance beaten Mr. Roosevelt he and his friends would have been justified in hoping that his popularity plus his machine would elect him.

The explanation for this amazing change is by no means complex. When Mr. Hanna made his first bow to the public, the worst that could be said of him was said at once; the least engaging aspects of his character were all presented to the people. Thereafter, all that was new that came to public notice was distinctly in his favor. The people discovered that there were many and big other sides to him, and that he was a great deal more than a political corruption and a bookish hands collector and manufacturer of the apparently necessary but hideously ugly political machinery. They learned to like his blunt and business-like way and common-sense public speaking. They learned to respect the sincerity of his motives, the honesty of his convictions, and the sanity of his judgment. And, as he dealt with large public affairs, his mind grew and his horizon also, and he showed an unusual freedom from class prejudice—a fine, and in some respects high, conception of the meaning of this great, peaceful, democratic Republic.

To attribute to him idealism of any sort, beyond such idealism as he showed in his beautiful love of William McKinley, would be absurd—as absurd as to call him a rascally destroyer of the purity of our politics. But his record as Senator since 1897 has been that of an honest and broad-minded Republican partisan. And, while he has been savagely criticized for carrying out, and striving to carry out, political bargains which, if politics were academic, would

never have been made; on the other hand, even his severest critics admit that he has done with frank openness nothing but what all politicians do as secretly as they can, but none the less determinedly. Nor is it necessary to decide here whether this openness was due to lack of delicacy or to abhorrence of hypocrisy.

As was suggested above, the movement to substitute him for Mr. Roosevelt as the Republican nominee was just definitely taking shape among the powerful men in the Republican machine, and in the small but mighty body of big "campaign fund contributors." It would be useless to relate how strong this movement was—with his death all opposition to Mr. Roosevelt has completely collapsed, for the time at least.

But more than 200 delegates for Hanna had already been practically assured. The conflict would certainly have been sharp had he lived and regained his health.

The interesting question now is, What will become of his "machine"? It was his; it was anti-Roosevelt; it was the most effective militant part of the Republican national organization and it had practically everywhere successfully blocked Mr. Roosevelt's efforts to build up a rival machine.

Mr. Hanna thought that he saw looming, just as formidable as the money question loomed eight years ago, a labor question that was fraught with even greater perils. His efforts in the past two years were directed on getting himself and his machine and his party

into position to deal with this question along lines which he regarded as conservative and wise and just. His antagonism to Mr. Roosevelt while in part based upon his fear that Mr. Roosevelt was a man of war rather than a man of peace, was chiefly based upon a feeling that Mr. Roosevelt's judgment of the labor question was neither sound nor stable. And those in a position to know, say that Mr. Roosevelt's respect for Mr. Hanna as a judge of policy and opinion, and as a leader of the Republican party, was a restraining and sobering influence of no small force. Whether this was true will probably soon appear.

But—What will become of Mr. Hanna's machine? That is his entire political estate.

## Famous Old Man Dying.

There is not a wild horse left on the plains of eastern Colorado, once so famous for the Mexican breed, generated from the importations of the Spanish explorers. Twenty-five years ago there were many herds, numbering about 50,000 head.

They have disappeared, and the man who is responsible for their disappearance is dying in a little hut at Pawnee Butte. He is Jerry McGann, better known as "Wild Horse Jerry." The old residents of Washington county say that it was his depredations which have caused the extermination of the species.

Of course, there were other tapers of wild horses, but no one who operated on the immense scale of the man who is now dying at Pawnee Butte. Had he been possessed of a determination to clear the plains of these animals he could not have done his work more thoroughly. Had he saved a moiety of the profits of his raids he would now be many times a millionaire.

But "Wild Horse Jerry" did neither

one nor the other. He caught and sold wild horses for profit. He is now in almost absolute destitution. He was a typical pioneer Westerner, rough and ready, impulsive, honest, with instinct for gaming, careless of his money, liberal to his friends. He worked only when there was necessity, living from raid to raid on the profits of the last chase. When the money was exhausted he rounded up a few more horses, tamed them and sold them to horse traders and others. His expenses were almost nothing. The proceeds were enormous.

"Wild Horse Jerry" had several methods for catching horses, but that which was most effective is described picturesquely by Hurd Twombly, the brother of Denver's former postmaster, himself a pioneer Westerner and tamer of many a wild horse. He said in conversation the other day at Akron:

"Jerry used to take out several herds of good swift horses in a circle, whose radius was generally about twenty-five miles in length. He knew well the habits of the wild horses. He knew that each herd ranged on certain territory and that they would not go out of that for any purpose. He mapped out his own route to suit.

"In the early morning he would mount his horse and begin the chase of the herd, which usually comprised from fifty to 150 head of horses, good, bad and indifferent. It was always bunched and kept together, no matter what the contingency. Jerry would drive the whole herd ahead of him.

"Every three or four hours one of his men would bring him a fresh mount. He gave the wild beasts no rest, day or night. It was a continual run around this circle.

"On the third or fourth day the wild horses would be tired. Jerry never wearied. He kept right after them. When completely exhausted, so that they could not run another rod, he would lariat and throw them. After the strenuous run they had had, they would be very tame and submissive and were ready for service almost immediately.

"Some of these wild horses were very fine specimens. Jerry sold them all the way from Colorado to Chicago. Some of them went as far as New York. He got from \$10 to \$100 per head for them.

"He told me the other day that the year in which he did best was 1870, during which he caught and sold 350 wild horses."—Denver Post.

Bargain News---The Herald of Gainful Transactions for the Careful Buyer.

## Special Purchases For Spring Business, to Start the Season with a Rush!

There Will Be Astounding Values on Sale This Week--Read About Them!

### New Black Silks

For Monday and all Week's Selling

Thousands of yards of New Black Silks at prices lower than ever before at the beginning of a season.

#### Money-back Taffeta Silks

Moneyback is the name of a New Black Silk we are showing. These silks are guaranteed to give satisfactory service or your money will be refunded. Moneyback silks cost no more than other good silks. The guarantee is thrown in for good measure.

20 inches wide, guaranteed, per yard.....	\$1.00	27 inches wide, guaranteed, per yard.....	\$1.50
21 inches wide, guaranteed, per yard.....	\$1.25	36 inches wide, guaranteed, per yard.....	\$2.00

#### Black Peau de Soie

In beautiful soft mellow finish and the very best wearing qualities. An exceedingly fashionable fabric for entire dresses and shirt waists and at prices rarely met.

20 inches wide, light weight and soft quality, per yard.....	73c	22 inches wide, soft, mellow finish quality, per yard.....	\$1.15
23 inches wide, double face, heavy quality, per yard.....	98c	24 inches wide, extra fine quality, per yard.....	\$1.50

#### Black Taffeta Silks

Attractive values in Dependable Black Taffeta Silks, all of the very best kind and thoroughly good blacks, and the prices are right.

19 inches wide, soft quality, good for tulle or lining.....	48c	36 inches wide, very fine quality and soft finish.....	98c
20 inches wide, fine quality and crisp.....	69c	36 inches wide, heavy, crisp and lustrous quality.....	\$1.50
27 inches wide, medium weight and soft finish.....	89c	36 inches wide, extra heavy and very lustrous.....	\$1.75
22 inches wide, heavy quality and lustrous.....	98c		

IN OUR WASH GOODS DEPARTMENT

Monday Morning from 9 to 12.

SPECIAL!

### Spring Tweed Suiting

Close imitation of all wool fabrics in beautiful mixtures. Including tan, gray, brown, navy, black and white, green and other spring effects. Tweed Suiting which combine the chic and style of genuine Scotch mixtures, at less than half the price of the wool material, 25c values at a yd. 17½c

### Advance Showing and Sale of Boys Wash Suits

For Spring 1904.

IN OUR BOYS' CLOTHING DEPARTMENT

Three Great Lots, Bought Underprice, To be Sold Underprice.

BOYS' WASH SUITS, in plain crash and fancy stripe percales, neatly trimmed with large sailor collar and cuffs, age 8 to 9 years, value 75c. SPECIAL PRICE FOR THIS WEEK.....	50c
BOYS' WASH SUITS in fancy stripe duck. This makes a very durable suit for boys, from 5 to 9 years, value \$1.00. SPECIAL PRICE FOR THIS WEEK.....	75c
BOYS' WASH SUITS in fancy stripe crash, extra well made and neatly trimmed; this makes a very neat suit for summer wear, age 8 to 9 years, value \$1.25. SPECIAL PRICE FOR THIS WEEK.....	\$1.00

ESTABLISHED 1864

*T. Auerbach & Co.*

ONE PRICE TO ALL NEVER UNDERSOLD

Spring Business Started In With a Big Hurrah In Our

### CLOAK AND SUIT DEPARTMENT

And we intend to keep it up. We are not only strong in prices, but in styles. Each garment was selected with care, and here are special items explaining the littleness of our pricing:

**\$10.95 Buys a Most Attractive Suit OF THE NEW 1904 STYLE**

THIS NEW SPRING SUITS, MADE OF ALL-WOOL VENETIAN, SERGES AND CHEVIOT IN THE PREVAILING ETON STYLES.

**New Voile and Etamine Skirts**

Separate Skirts, in voiles, etamine and fancy mixtures, will be very popular this season. We are showing some very new ideas, etamine and voile at—

**\$8.95, \$10.00, \$12.50, and up to \$45.00**

...THAT GREAT...

### HOSIERY SALE

CONTINUES ANOTHER WEEK. YOU'LL MISS THE GREATEST HOSIERY VALUES EVER OFFERED IF YOU FAIL TO ATTEND THIS SALE. IT OFFERS HERE PROBABLY THE BEST QUALITIES IN THOROUGHLY DESIRABLE STYLES AT PRICES THAT SET YOU WONDERING.

CHILDREN'S PONY STOCKINGS, full regular made quality, fast black in heavy grade for boys and girls, weight for girls. They have reinforced knees and toes, best 25c grade. Sale price.....	23c
LADIES' ALL LACE OR LACE ANKLE STOCKINGS, in the most beautiful patterns. FAST BLACKS, GRAYS or MODES; also a variety of neatly embroidered styles, most excellent 25c grade, on sale at.....	49c
LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S FAST BLACK SEAMLESS COTTON HOSE, any size, in the 12½c 8½c grade, for this sale at.....	8½c

**\$17.50 Buys One of the Latest Fancy Mixtures Spring Suit, Fabrics Unexcelled**

FOR RICHNESS AND DURABILITY. THEY ARE MADE IN THE POPULAR ETON STYLE WITH BLOUSE EFFECT, BODY LINED WITH TAFETA SILK.

**SPECIAL FOR MONDAY. 50 Ladies' Dress & Walking Skirts \$3.95**

Made of all-wool broadcloth, Venetians, serges and chevots, all of this season's latest styles; not a skirt in the lot worth less than \$5.00 and some up to \$6.00. Monday's choice.....

### New Infants' Wear

ALL THE Dainties for baby. WE HAVE GATHERED UP CAREFULLY, CORRECTLY AND ARE SHOWING THE MOST DESIRABLE STYLES AND PRETTIEST CONCEPTIONS IN THE EVENING THAT GOES TO MAKE BABY'S WARDROBE COMPLETE. IT'S A SHOWING YOU WILL WISH TO SEE. TO TEMPT YOU THIS WEEK WE MAKE

**Special Prices On These Items.**

INFANTS' LONG DRESSES of fine Nainsook, with round yoke of hemstitched tucks surrounded by hemstitched lace-trimmed ruffle, neck and sleeves edged with Valenciennes lace, a beautiful little dress, worth 90c. Special price this week.....	59c
INFANTS' SHORT DRESSES—Two nobby styles, made of finest Nainsook or Wash Clifton, neatly trimmed in Valenciennes lace or Embroidery insertion and hemstitching, beautiful \$1.65 styles, on sale at.....	99c
INFANTS' JACKETS—Embroidered Cashmere Jackets, neat, dainty little styles, values up to \$2.25, for this season's opening bargain.....	\$1.25

New Comers in the Season's Most Fascinating White and Colored

### WASH FABRICS

These charming fabrics stand higher than ever in feminine admiration, for the skill of designers and weavers seem to have reached the most exalted plane of artistic conception and execution. Our line this spring contains the most desirable patterns and kinds known to art. We go direct to manufacturers for all our wants, which makes this Department's regular prices on finest grades as low—even lower—than ordinary kinds sell for. Strong specials in this lot.

50 Pieces new Seer Suckers and Dress Gingshams, 27 inches wide, in new checks and fancy stripes, for children's and misses' wear, sold elsewhere at 15c; special per yard.....	12½c
Another 100 pieces of the popular Punjab Percales, just received, the most attractive new patterns for Shirt Waists and House Gowns, light and dark color grounds, perfectly fast in washing, scarce at 15c, here a yard.....	12½c
A second shipment of Galatea Cloths, a material possessing great wearing qualities for boys' and youths' garments, fast washable colors, this season's newest patterns also plain colors, standard 20c qualities, here a yard.....	15c
Novelty Linen Suitings, handsome tweed effects, new color grounds, here per yard.....	30c
Embroidered, shot effect and perforated imported Madras in the most popular color ground, value 65c; here per yard.....	50c
New white Waistings in rich satin brocades that look like silk, beautiful mercerized Madras, Velours and Jacquard weaves, this week per yard 65c, and.....	50c

IN OUR DRESS GOODS DEPT.,

MONDAY AFTERNOON FROM 2 TO 5 P. M.

### SPECIAL!

55 pieces, 36-inch, ALL WOOL ALBATROSS and BATISTE in all the LATEST STAPLE and FANCY COLORINGS. The most suitable material for EVENING GOWNS and WAISTS. This material has a soft CLINGING CREPE EFFECT. Value 60c and 65c for the above 3 hours, at a yard.....

IT PAYS TO BUY FOOTWEAR OF US

### OXFORDS

to the Front Again

OXFORDS, OR LOW SHOES, ARE MORE STYLISH THAN EVER THIS SEASON. WE ARE SHOWING THE BEST MAKES, THE LATEST STYLES, AT THE LOWEST PRICES, IN

### OUR SHOE DEPARTMENT

SPECIALS FOR THIS WEEK.

LADIES' KID OXFORDS, \$2.00 VALUES.....	\$1.48
LADIES' KID OXFORDS, \$2.25 VALUES.....	\$1.69
LADIES' KID OXFORDS, \$2.75 VALUES.....	\$2.25

SEE OUR WINDOW DISPLAY OF STYLISH FOOTWEAR RIGHTLY PRICED

Sample Oxfords Worth \$1.50 to \$3.00 A PAIR, ONLY A PAIR THIS WEEK.....